Reflections
UPON THE
OCCURRENCES
OF THE
LAST YEAR.

From 5. *Nov.* 1688. to 5. *Nov.* 1689.

WHEREIN,

The *Happy* Progreſs of the late *Revolution*, and the *Unhappy* Progreſs of *Affairs ſince*, are conſidered; The Original of the latter diſcovered, and the proper Means for Remedy propoſed and recommended.

PROV. XXVII. 5, 6.

Open Rebuke is better than ſecret Love: Faithfull are the Wounds of a Friend; but the Kiſſes of an Enemy are deceitfull.

London, Printed in the Year, 1689.

Advertiſement.

THeſe Papers, though in Print, were not Printed for vulgar View; but for the uſe of ſuch as are principally concerned in them; and therefore in number proportionable to that intention. They contain a ſearch into a dangerous Sore, which cannot faithfully be performed without ſome ſmart to the Patient. And in ſuch caſe, they who are wiſe will not rage and ſtorm at the Hand which toucheth them, but conſider, that it is but what is neceſſary to prevent greater Miſchief in time. Perhaps the Operation might have been performed more tenderly by others, but more faithfully it could not have been done by any. If any blame it as a Work of too much Officiouſneſs, for one thus to obtrude himſelf before he be ſent for; it muſt be remembred, that he had ſome concern in, as well as for the Safety of the Patient: And were it not ſo, yet the good Samaritan, *for his good Office in ſupplying the neglect of the* Prieſt *and the* Levite, *was not cenſured, but approved by the Great Phyſician, our* Lord *and* Saviour. *If after all any one will be troubleſome, he is hereby admoniſhed to be wiſe, and conſider firſt, how he will clear himſelf before the ſupreme Judge, who will certainly take Cognizance of the Cauſe, and give Righteous Judgment upon each. For, for his Service it was done, and to him the Succeſs is intirely committed.*

Reflections

UPON THE

OCCURRENCES

OF THE

LAST YEAR.

WE are now by the Course of Time and Providence of God, brought to an *United*, Solemn, *Anniversary Commemoration of two great Deliverances* of this Nation, one of our Ancestors, but in them of our selves, about one Age, that is, 84 years since: the other of our own selves, commencing in the Prince's Arrival, but one year since: But both concurring in the same happy and memorable Day of the *Fifth of November*. And in this, that they were Deliverances from Conspiracies of the same inveterate Enemies, though at so great a distance of time, and of quite different Form and Contrivance; the first secret, underground, and in the dark: the other bare faced, above-board, and visible to the World. Almighty God of his infinite Goodness and Wisedom, was pleased, not onely to *renew* his Mercies to us; to doe it *when*, considering the corrupt and vitious State of the Nation, we had great reason rather to fear some severe Judgment;

to doe it in ſuch a *Manner*, as might make his Divine Power and Efficacy in it the more apparent; but to doe it with ſuch *Circumſtances of Time*, as might mind us alſo of his former Mercies, of his long continued Favour, and the conſtancy of his Providence over us, the more to endear his Goodneſs to us, and to oblige us the more effectually to himſelf. The *Year*, that of *Eighty Eight*, to mind us of the famous *Eighty Eight*, one Hundred Years before, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when the Wind and the Sea, by his Divine Direction, fought for us againſt a ſuppoſed invincible *Armado*. And *the Day* of the PRINCE's Landing determined by the remarkable Motion of the Wind, under the ſame Divine Direction, to the very day of the Fifth of *November*, to mind us of the Deliverance in the Reign of King *James* the Firſt, upon the ſame Day, from one of the moſt Barbarous and Helliſh Conſpiracies that the World hath known. And, certainly, they muſt be very dull and ſtupid Souls, who, by ſuch *Admonitions* as theſe, are not provoked *to Conſider* with Admiration and raiſed Affections, *the obſervable Courſe of the Divine Providence*, in preſerving this Nation from ſuch various and continual Machinations of the Antichriſtian Faction; not onely during the long Reign of four and forty Years of that Queen, but *for this full* 130 Years; from her Acceſſion to the Crown, unto this late Revolution.

As theſe Circumſtances of the Time invite us to *look backward* upon the former courſe of Divine Providence in the Occurrences of this Nation, ſo there is another Circumſtance in our late Deliverance, which doth no leſs excite our Conſideration, and oblige us to *look forward* upon what hath ſince occurred in the ſpace of this one Year laſt paſt: And that is the eminent and wonderfull *Manner of* the Revolution.

The Deliverance it ſelf was ſo full fraught with Mercies and Favours from Heaven, that every Circumſtance had ſome ſpecial obliging Favour in it; and this of the manner, more than one. It was no ſmall favour, that it was *effected with ſo much eaſe* to us, and with the Effuſion of ſo little Bloud, eſpecially conſidering the general Corruption of the manners of all ſorts of People among us, which not onely deſerved, but ſeemed to need and require a Purgation: But the Merciſull God, it ſeems, was pleaſed, firſt to try whether there was ſo much Ingenuity left among us, as to be wrought upon by his more gentle method of ſo ſurpriſing a Mercy and eminent Deliverance, which if it be not, will certainly

tainly aggravate the ſin of the Nation, and in all probability, increaſe and haſten ſome remarkable Judgment upon it.

But that which I principally intend here, is, that it was carried on *with a high Hand*, like that of the Children of *Iſrael*, in ſo powerfull and eminent a manner, a certain Dread and Terrour going before, as makes the Providence of God viſible, his Power known, and gives a great Indication of his ſpecial preſence (by his Inviſible Miniſters) in it. This is ſuch a ſpecial Favour, and produceth ſuch ſpecial Obligations upon us, as muſt needs highly aggravate the Crime of any unſuitable Return, as not onely Notorious Ingratitude for an extraordinary Benefit, but a kind of contempt, or ſlighting of ſo great a Benefactour to his Face. *Behold, I ſend my Angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared*, ſaith God to *Moſes:* and then ſubjoins this Caution; *Beware of him, and obey his Voice; provoke him not; for he will not pardon your Tranſgreſſions; for my Name is in him*, Exod. 23. 20, 21. This was our Caſe: And as ſuch an Obligation requires a ſpecial Proſpect, Care and Caution for the future, to avoid all Offence againſt it; ſo the powerfull and ſucceſsfull Progreſs of that Deliverance muſt needs make the Departure of thoſe Powers, or but Suſpenſion of ſo eminent a Favour, ſoon felt, and eaſie to be perceived, and thereby give a plain Admonition of ſome Offence committed. And whether this be not our Caſe, is a matter of grear Importance, and requiring our moſt ſerious and deepeſt Conſideration.

The Deliverance in the Manner and Progreſs of it, was ſo ſurprizing and amazing, as the like is hardly to be met with in any Hiſtory, ſince that of the *Iſraelites*; and yet it will not be eaſie to determine which is moſt to be admired, the ſmooth, uninterrupted, proſperous and ſucceſsfull Progreſs of it, or the unaccountable *Stop* which ſeems to have been put to that ſucceſs; and the ſtrange, ſlow, impedited, and unproſperous *Courſe of Affairs ſince:* How all things did viſibly concurr to promote that, but the courſe of our Affairs ſince hath been retarded we know not how! Onely this we plainly ſee, all is at a ſtand, or moves ſlowly, like *Pharaoh's* Chariots, when their Wheels were off; or as I have heard of a Cart bewitched, which before was drawn eaſily loaded, by four or five Horſes, but of a ſudden, became almoſt unmoveable, in plain ground, and half unloaded, by a much greater ſtrength: So have all things gone with us, as if they were inchanted, for the greateſt part of this year. And ſo ſudden and

great an *Alteration*, doth of it ſelf deſerve and provoke our Conſideration; but the dangerous Conſequences thereof, which have already occurred, or are within view, much more.

The late wonderfull *Revolution* which is looked upon as our Deliverance, was *compleated*, if we compute from the Arrival of the Prince, to the *Exit* of King *James*, within the ſpace of forty three days; and if we extend it to the day when the Prince was proclaimed King, it amounts but to one hundred days: But upon *Chriſtmaſs* day He was addreſſed to by the Lords, and two days after, by the Members of the former Parliaments, and the Aldermen and Common-Council of the City, to take upon him the *Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs*, both *Civil* and *Military*, and the diſpoſal of the *Publick Revenue*, and to take into his particular care, the then preſent *Condition of Ireland*. All which, the day following he accepted and undertook.

Among thoſe four things recommended in general to the Prince, and undertaken by him, were ſome things comprehended, which could not then be compleatly done by him; as the Conſtitution of Civil Officers, and of Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, and other Officers in the *Militia*. All that could then be done by him in theſe matters, was only to conſider, and reſolve upon fit Perſons for theſe Employments, to be Authorized as ſoon as might be. But this was a matter of ſome Conſequence to be ſettled as ſoon as might be, as in other reſpects, ſo more particularly, that the more Forces might have been the ſooner ſpared for *Ireland:* For conſidering the Diſpoſition of the People, the ordinary *Militia* being in good hands, would have been ſufficient for the Security of this Nation. But, whatever was the matter, neither were the Civil Magiſtrates in the ſeveral Counties, that is, the *Juſtices of Peace*, nor the *Militia*, ſetled in many Months after.

And for *Ireland*, the *Conſequence* of the ſpeedy ſecuring or reducing of that Nation, was very great; not only for the Security, Eaſe, and Benefit of this, but moreover and eſpecially, in order to the *common Deſign of the Confederates*, that we might have been in a condition to have Attacqued the common Enemy on the one ſide, as they did on the other; which we being animated by Succeſs, and our Enemies under no ordinary Conſternation, might have brought the common Deſign to perfection; and, which is of higher Conſideration, have produced what the Providence of God had put an opportunity into our hands to doe, directed us to, and was ready to have conducted us to perform. And how diſmal

may

may be the Conſequence of this failure, if it proceeded from any neglect in us, as God alone compleatly knows, ſo I am unwilling to declare what I ſuſpect, nor perhaps is it fit for me to doe it. But thus much of the *Matter of Fact* in this caſe is certain and commonly known, that the Arms and Ammunition which were ſent, whenever that was, but to that one poor Town of *London-Derry*, which ſhut up their Gates the ninth of *December*, declared for the Prince of *Orange*, and the Proteſtant Religion, and immediately ſent hither for ſpeedy Relief, arrived not there till the twentieth of *March*, nor the Forces ſent with *Cunningham* and *Richards* till the fifteenth of *April*; and then inſtead of Relief, by deſerting the Service, proved only a Diſcouragement to them. And though ſome others came near the ſeventh of *June*, yet were not thoſe poor Creatures actually relieved till the thirtieth of *July*; when from ſeven Thouſand five hundred brave Regimented Men, they were reduced to about four Thouſand three hundred; though nothing appears, why that might not have been done full as well ſix weeks before.

Proportionable to this, for the Relief of that Town, was the Progreſs of our Affairs for the *Reducing of that Kingdom*. That which might with eaſe have been done at firſt, grew daily more and more difficult; the Difficulties increaſing faſter than our Preparations; inſomuch, that *March* 8. King *William* ſpeaking to the Lords and Commons, concerning the deplorable condition of *Ireland*, declared, That he thought it not adviſable to attempt the reducing of it with leſs than Twenty thouſand Horſe and Foot. Difficulties ſhould, and uſually do excite generous Spirits to the more vigorous Action: And this, no doubt, was the Intention of this King in that Speech: Notwithſtanding long it was e'er we could be ready to tranſport our Forces; and when all things were expected to be ready for that purpoſe, how they anſwered the General's expectations muſt be left to his own Obſervation, and the more particular Examination of them, who are not only concern'd, but are in Place and Authority to do it; it being commonly believed, that they were not ſo well as ought to have been. And when they were at laſt Tranſported, which was not till about the middle of *Auguſt*, it ſeems they were not ſuch as the General thought fit to engage with the Enemy, though ſo lately baffled before *London-Derry*; eſpecially their Carriages not coming to him before the 24th of *September*; nor have they to this day done any conſiderable Service.

And whereas it is likely, the wary old General might decline any Engagement, in daily expectation of the *Daniſh Supplies* to have been with him long ſince, yet ſo unhappily hath that alſo fallen out, that the expectation of them hath proved only a Diſappointment to us, and perhaps a greater Diſappointment than ever their Service may repair. Beſides, the ſeaſon of the year is now ſo far gone, that they are more like to prove a burden this Winter, than any advantage to us. And what may now become not only of *Ireland*, but of the Forces we have already ſent thither is very doubtfull; ſo that we have in a manner already loſt all the Expence of this Summer, and are in danger to loſe a great part of our Forces alſo.

And now, if from Land we deſcend to take a Proſpect of the Progreſs of *our Affairs at Sea*, we ſhall ſtill find all alike: The two famous Nations for Action at Sea, not onely baffled by the ſole Power of *France*, but our loſſes in Men by *Sickneſs* and *Mortalities* greater than by *Fight*, and in our Merchandiſe and Trade, not leſs than our Expences: And, as if the Power of our Enemies were not enough to annoy us, after all, (if the Complaints of our Merchants and their Mariners be true,) our Ships have been made a Prey by thoſe who ſhould have been their Guard and Convoy, and were imployed for that Purpoſe.

And if we return again to Land, and conſider the *State of the Countrey*, we ſhall there find all our Countrey Commodities at ſo low a rate, as will hardly pay Wages and other neceſſary charges, beſides reaſonable maintenance for the Families: And this Condition made harder by Taxes already granted and levyed, and thoſe unſuccesfully ſpent, and more expected. And ſuch a Diſappointment of the great Expectation which was generally conceived of a happy change of Affairs, muſt needs produce an unhappy change in Men's minds.

And if we apply our ſelves to conſider the Proceedings of *our Councils*, the great Council of the Nation, and the King's Privy Council, we may there more eaſily find the original Root, Occaſions and Authors of all theſe Miſchiefs, than any ſuch ſound Reſolutions or Counſels, as ever were, or are likely either to have prevented, or now to redreſs the ſame. A bold Speech this, I confeſs it is; but being ſaid, not maliciouſly out of any evil Principle or Deſign, but out of Zeal for the common Safety, and other good Ends; nor of particular Perſons, I doubt not, but the evidence of Truth; and the Conſciences of moſt, will excuſe and acquit

quit me. And yet I muſt be bold to ſay, there are ſome things paſſed, of which none of them all who were preſent, or concerned, can acquit or excuſe themſelves.

Such was one of the firſt Acts of the Convention, the Form of their *Order for the Thankſgiving*. And if any one dare preſume to excuſe that as a ſmall matter, I dare be bold to ſay, he hath but little ſenſe of the Majeſty of God concerned in it, of his extraordinary Mercy and Goodneſs in the Deliverance, of the dangerous Conſequence of ſuch a fault in the beginning of their Conſultations, or what an Indication it was of an unhappy Temper and Diſpoſition prevalent in that Aſſembly. But had the Form been altogether faultleſs, to order a ſolemn Thankſgiving to God, and never after do any real Act of Gratitude for his Honour and Service, when profane Swearing, and other Impieties and Wickedneſs were grown to that height of Impudence and Preſumption, is ſuch a thing, as would be reſented with Indignation by a mortal Man, and was more likely to provoke a ſuſpenſion at leaſt of the Favours of Providence we enjoyed, than a continuance thereof: But of that more elſewhere.

One of the next things they did, was the ordering of a Committee for the buſineſs of *Ireland*: But what have they done ever ſince in that buſineſs? Either nothing at all, or nothing to the purpoſe, as the Event, and what I have before taken notice of, do plainly ſhew and demonſtrate. And yet it is plain, there wanted not matter enough proper for their conſideration. There were *Engliſh* Proteſtants enough in *Ireland*, to have defended themſelves, and ſecured that Kingdom, had they not been diſarmed, and their Arms, contrary to Law, put into the hands of *Papiſts*; and notwithſtanding that, had they but had Arms ſent them in time; and had they needed ſome ſmall Body of men at firſt, to whom they might have repaired, we had more in Arms and Pay here than we needed, and therefore not only refuſed many who offered their Service, but disbanded many of thoſe we had. We had Ships alſo at the ſame charge, whether employed upon that Service, or any other. Why then were not Men and Arms too ſent them in time, while our men were animated with Succeſs, and the *Iriſh* under a Conſternation? Why not we as forward as the *French*? And why, inſtead of ſending to them, were ſo many of the *Iriſh*, who had been in Arms here, ſuffered to return, and not rather employed in ſome ſervice of the Confederates, at leaſt of the Emperour againſt the *Turk*, if they might not have

been

been truſted againſt the *French*? And when by our neglect at firſt there was need of a greater Force, if we had not then Men enough in Arms, Why were not more raiſed at home, of thoſe who were disbanded, and of thoſe who were forced from their Eſtates in *Ireland*, and wanted Maintainance here? But we muſt ſend for Foreigners without conſent of Parliament, and ſo incurr the blame we caſt upon others; and ſend for ſuch, which muſt protract the time, when we might as well have been certainly provided at home much ſooner? And whereas all this may ſeem to have been managed either for the real Service of King *James*, or for a colour, to bring in a Foreign Force for the Security of ſuch as having been true, neither to him, nor to their Countrey, durſt now truſt neither, but endeavoured to impoſe upon the preſent King, and under the old pretence of his Service, get into their own hands a Power to enſlave their Countrey; it had been worth the Enquiry, how it was ſerviceable to the preſent Settlement? And who were the Adviſers and principal Agents in it? And certainly ſuch matters as this had qeen no improper nor unuſual Buſineſs, for the Conſideration of a Parliament.

The next and greateſt matter of all, of civil Conſideration, was *the long Debate about the Abdication.* This took them up little leſs than three Weeks time. And though there was reaſon enough to declare the Departure of King *James* under his Circumſtances, an Abdication of the Government, he having before notoriouſly endeavoured the Subverſion of the Conſtitution, actually, in divers great Inſtances, violated the fundamental Laws, given juſt cauſe of War to the Prince, and of Defence and Vindication of their Rights to the People; and after all, by recalling the Writs for a Parliament, refuſed a legal Determination of the matters in Queſtion, all which make it plainly, rather the flight of a Criminal from Juſtice, than of an innocent Man *Metus cauſa, & cum animo revertendi*; and a Ceſſion or Dereliction of the Government in Fact, which his deliberate Violations declare he had before deſerted in Affection; yet as if they indeed laid the whole ſtreſs upon the Departure; and the other matters charged againſt King *James*, were not criminal or puniſhable, ſo much as in his *Miniſters*, *Counſellours*, and *Accomplices*, or at leaſt doubted their own Authority as a Parliament, *not one* of thoſe, who by their wicked Counſels and Compliances, betrayed not only their Countrey, but their King himſelf, whom they pretended to ſerve, in-

to

to ſuch Miſchiefs as were like to have been fatal to both, (whatever yet may come of it,) hath yet been *brought to condign punishment, or ſo much as called in Queſtion* upon a fair Tryal; quite contrary to all the Practice of our Anceſtours; who always puniſhed the Counſellours, Miniſters, and Agents, unleſs in extraordinary caſes, directly tending to the Deſtruction or Subverſion of the Government, as this did.

And whereas upon ſuch a Revolution, one of the moſt neceſſary things to be done, eſpecially when meeting with ſuch oppoſition as this hath, and is yet like to do, is *to remove*, as much as may be, all *Occaſions of Difference, and unite all* Parties in a firm Agreement, *for a mutual Aſſiſtence* in civil Matters, ſuch hath been the Jealouſies, Animoſities, and prepoſterous Zeal of many, that a great part of the moſt ſober and ſerious People of this Nation, are to this day kept out of the Service of their Country, and the moſt debauched and profligate freely let in; and let in with the groſſeſt Profanation of Sacred things, that hath, I think, been known in any Chriſtian Nation; and no expedient can yet be agreed on, though in a matter of ſo great Importance.

And to ſumm up all that belongs to this Conſideration of the Parliament, in one word, they have been all along infeſted with a Spirit of Diviſion, ſo prevalent among them, that they have ſcarce done one brave and clever Action, nor ſo much as enquired to any purpoſe, into the Cauſes and principal Authours of the evil Management of our Affairs, ever ſince they met.

Should we come nearer to the King himſelf, and enquire into the more ſecret Proceedings of his *Privy Council*, and great Miniſters of State, 'tis poſſible we ſhould come ſo much the nearer yet, to the Fountain head of much of this Unhappineſs: For it muſt all have been either the Effect or Diſappointment of their Counſels. But ſuch an Enquiry is a buſineſs ſo proper for the grand Inqueſt of the Nation, that it is fit to be left to them to doe it effectually..

But as for the King himſelf, this is apparent to the World, that the embroiled, if not loſt condition of *Ireland*, and the loſs of this Summer's Aſſiſtence to his Confederates, is a great Eclipſe and Diminution of that Honour which the ſucceſs of his former Proceedings had acquired; and was of ſo great Importance to him for the farther Progreſs of his Affairs.

But

But I need not proceed farther on ſo ungrateful a Subject; the Inſtances I have already produced, are ſufficient to ſhew a *great and unhappy Change* in the Courſe and Progreſs of our Affairs, from ſo ſmooth and proſperous, that formidable Armies could give no check or interruption, but vaniſhed like Smoke before the Wind, to ſo rough and diſturbed, and that ſo univerſal in all, that neither Abroad nor at Home, at Sea or at Land, in Country or in Council, do we find any chearful face of Affairs, but everywhere Rubs, Impediments, Failures and Diſappointments, and our way fenced up that we cannot paſs.

So great a change as this, is enough to move the curioſity of an unconcerned Spectator to enquire into the *true Cauſes* of it, much more ought our own concern to move us to do it, with no leſs care and diligence, than a skilful and faithful Chirurgion would uſe, in the ſearch of ſome dangerous Wound or Sore. Nor would it be hard to diſcover the particular, immediate Cauſes of many of theſe things; but to reſt in them, would prove but a ſhallow and ſuperficial Speculation; and the Application of means for the redreſs of them alone, could not be expected to have better effect than the application of a Plaiſter to a deep and ulcerous Wound. Here is ſo great a concurrence of ſo many and various evil Symptoms, and particular immediate Cauſes conſpiring to croſs and diſappoint us, as is a plain Indication of ſome more ſecret and powerful common Cauſe influencing all. They are Men of no very clear (but clouded) Minds, or of no very ſtrict Obſervation, who having any conſiderable time been converſant with Men and Buſineſs in the World, do not feel in themſelves, and perceive in others, that the moſt minute concerns of Men, are under the Conduct and Regimen of certain inviſible Powers. Though Providence and Induſtry often ſucceed, yet we ſee them often defeated; and lucky and unlucky Hits, as we call them, and thoſe many times unaccountable, prevail above and againſt both; and that not once or twice, but in a long courſe together. And had we but the underſtanding of *Balaam*'s Aſs, we might diſcern, that an Angel of the Lord is ſtanding in our way to ſtop our Progreſs; and that this great change, is indeed *Mutatio dextræ Altiſſimi*. *Iſrael* hath ſinned and tranſgreſſed, and therefore cannot proſper: Our ſtrength is departed from us, and we are become like other Men: Neither will it return, unleſs the curſed thing be found out and removed. This therefore is our buſineſs, which this change of ſucceſs loudly calls us to, to find out the Sin that keeps good things

things from us, and to diſſipate the Cloud that intercepts the benign Influences of Heaven. And to that end, it will be fit to return to that Period of the Revolution, the Exit of King *James*, and the Arrival of the Prince at the Royal Palace, and the Confines of the Metropolis of the Nation, and conſider what Indications have ſince occurred.

Here he was met and attended by moſt of the Nobility, and a numerous concourſe of the Gentry, and People of all Ranks and Qualities, from all parts of the Nation. And the very next Lord's Day, were the following *Admonitions* very ſeaſonably given to him, and to all then preſent, from the Pulpit; and ſoon after by his Highneſs's ſpecial Command, to all others from the Preſs, by a Perſon of great Name, who having ſhewed from the amazing Concurrence of Providence in the late Revolution, that it was the *Lord's Doing*, he makes ſome *Reflections* upon it.

One whereof he thus Expreſſeth:

P. 22. *If we will carry on and perfect this Marvellous Work of God, we muſt ſtudy to be ſuch, that God may not repent him of the good which he ſeems to have prepared for us. While we are under ſuch an happy Influence of Heaven, we muſt not raiſe up ſuch an Interpoſition between it and us, as may not only make us loſe this happy Opportunity, but turn it to a Curſe by the ill uſe we may make of it.*

Another he expreſſeth in theſe Words:

P. 20. *If this Work of God poſſeſs us with the Veneration which is due to it, We ought not to ſtop the courſe of it, till it has had its full Effect; nor to daub matters by ſlight and palliating Remedies. We ſee now before us the moſt* GLORIOUS BEGINNING *of a noble Change of the whole face of Affairs, both with relation to Religion, and the Peace of* Europe, *that we could have wiſh'd for. It is ſo far beyond our Hopes, that we durſt ſcarce let our Wiſhes go ſo far: We may, if we are not wanting to our ſelves, and to the Conjunctures before us, hope to ſee that which may be according to the Prophetick Stile, termed a New Heaven, and a new Earth. But if a Spirit of Jealouſie and Murmuring, of Impatience and Faction, and of returning to that out of which God has ſo ſignally extricated us, grows up; ſo that inſtead of reaping the Fruits that we have now in Proſpect, we have not Souls big enough, nor Hearts good enough to carry this on to Perfection, then we may juſtly fear our being* Delivered up *to all thoſe Evils from which we will not be healed,* &c. And a lit-

tle after, *There is ſcarce any* Indication *more certain of the Sins of a Nation being grown up to that height, that it muſt be deſtroyed, than the* Miſcarriage *of ſo great a Deliverance as God has wrought for us, which will be an Eternal Blot on the Wiſdom of the Nation*, &c.

Again: P. 24. *In order to the preventing the return of the like Evils, we muſt avoid the Relapſing into the like Sins. It is neither the Union nor Wiſdom of Councils, nor the Strength of Fleets or Armies, that will ſecure us from the Judgments of God, which we may expect will fall upon us with an extraordinary redoubling, of ſeven times heavier than any thing that we have yet ſeen or known, if thoſe that are filthy will be filthy ſtill. — If Men think that their Fears are over, and that therefore they may give themſelves up to work Wickedneſs without Reſtraint; then we may juſtly expect a return of the like, if not of greater Miſeries.*

And toward the Concluſion: P. 31. *If in all that we do, we take not care to have God ever on our Sides, it will be eaſie for him to blaſt all Councils, and to defeat even the greateſt and beſt laid Deſigns. We have now before our Eyes one of the ſignalleſt Inſtances that is in any Hiſtory, of the Inſtability of all humane things*, &c. *Perhaps, ſome may imagine that we are ſafe, becauſe we cannot be daſhed on the ſame Rock, about which we ſee ſo great a Shipwreck: But alas! If we provoke God to hide his Face, and to withdraw his Protection from us, his Ways are paſt finding out: He can bring Ruine and Deſtruction on us from that Hand, from which perhaps we apprehend the leaſt. If Proſperity and Succeſs blow any up and make them forget God, and all the Vows that they made to him, he will never want Means and Methods to make them return to themſelves, and to remember him.*

To theſe I will ſubjoyn one more delivered by the ſame Perſon upon the Solemn Occaſion of the Coronation, in theſe Words:

Page 3. *Thoſe who are raiſed up to a high Eminence of Dignity, are ſo much the more accountable both to God and Man, not only for all the Ill, which either they themſelves, or others acting in their Name, or by their Example may have done; but likewiſe for all the Good which they might have done, but did not. And as they have much to anſwer for to God, ſo likewiſe Men expect much from them*, &c.

Theſe are all truths, and ſo plain truths, that there needed no extraordinary Spirit of Propheſie to reveal them: and yet I doubt not but we may ſay truly, *This ſpake he not of himſelf, but* being ordered to preach on ſuch occaſion, *he propheſied.* If we believe

believe that this great work was *the Work of God*, in whose hand are the hearts of all men, why should we question but he who directed the Wind at Sea, directed also now at their arrival here, the motions of this man's heart to so seasonable and necessary Admonitions for the farther promotion of that Work, which he had so eminently favoured hitherto? And the great change in the progress of affairs, which we have since seen, confirms the same, inasmuch as it shews the Admonitions to have been not a little necessary. And if that be so, it is the more likely that *some Miscarriage* there hath been, contrary not only to certain Duties, but to some such particular express Admonition; which is a great aggravation of that fault, which hath had the unhappy effect to raise up such an *Interposition* between the happy Influence of Heaven and us.

The next thing then to be enquired is, Whose, and what this Miscarriage may be? The Persons concerned in the Success and Management both were the Prince himself, his Counsellours, Ministers, and those about him, and among them he especially who gave those Admonitions, the Convention, the Army, and the Navy; in the Success alone the People of these Nations, the Church of *England*, and the Confederates beyond Sea, whose Design is as much affected with it, as the concern of any other: But whoever else might be concerned in the Fault, because the Prince was not only principally concerned in the Success and Management both, but had before been made so glorious an Instrument, that nothing could stop his Advance, it is not reasonable to believe that he should have been at all deserted by the propitious Powers of Heaven, without some Offence given by himself, either by his own Act or Neglect, or by Participation with some other. And to discover that what it might be, is a matter of great importance, and requires no less Fidelity in any Man to endeavour it, than Skill to doe it effectually; Fidelity to God, to himself now King, to his Countrey, and Good-Will to a most just and honourable Cause, and to all concerned in it. And all this I hope is ground enough for plain dealing.

I cannot think of this King without thinking also of his Predecessours in the Throne of these Kingdoms, from whom he is personally descended, and now succeeds in their Estate: Had he been only personally descended from them, he had not been so far concerned in the Fate of their Family; but having now ac-

cepted their Seat and Right, he thereby ſucceeds in their Obligations, and muſt either diſcharge their Debt by Reformation of what they have in that capacity done amiſs, or bear their Iniquity, and ſucceed alſo in their Puniſhment. They had all the Favour of Providence in their acceſs to the Throne, and ſome of them in a ſpecial manner, even beyond their Expectation or Hope; but none more than this: But they all deſerted imprudently the Conduct, and ungratefully the Service of that benign Providence, and following their own ways, were thereupon deſerted by it; and *Reboboam*-like left to the unſound and pernicious Counſels of Flatterers, and unfaithfull ſelf-ſeeking Favourites, who for their own ſiniſter ends divided the Common Cauſe, and ſet up a ſeparate Intereſt of Prerogative againſt Law, and King againſt the People, and turned the Court and Church into a *Combined Faction*. This hath been the Stumbling Stone, and *Rock of Offence* to all the former; and I know not any thing that can be more dangerous to this, and if he be not well aware of it, to the remainder of that Royal Family, if not to Monarchy it ſelf in this Nation.

This is a matter of ſo great conſequence for the Peace and Proſperity both of King and People, to be well underſtood, that it deſerves a more particular Conſideration. And theſe *two Obſervations* will make it very plain and apparent. 1. It is certain, that by the Conſtitution of our Government the King can legally doe very little, but by the Advice of ſome legal Council. The *Councils* by whoſe Advice he is to proceed, are, 1. The great Council of the Kingdom, the *Parliament*. 2. The Lords, who are *Conciliarii Nati*. 3. The *King's Council for matters of Law*, anciently conſiſting of other and more perſons, beſides the Judges and Serjeants, than now are conſulted with: And, 4. The *Privy Council*. But *Secret Cabals* and *Cabinet Councils* of Favourites are neither agreeable to the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, nor have been ever ſucceſsfull, but always pernicious and deſtructive to ſuch Kings as have moſt relied on them. In what is done by advice of legal Council, the King is always, and ought to be excuſed, and the Adviſers anſwerable for it: But what is done by illegal Councils, is imputed to the King himſelf, and uſually produceth Diſcontents in the People. And of this was King *Charles* II. very ſenſible, when in his Declaration dated *April* 20. 1679. he tells the Privy Council, *He is ſorry for the ill ſucceſs he hath found in this courſe, and ſenſible of the ill poſture of Affairs, from*

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that, and ſome unhappy Accidents, which have raiſed great Jealouſies and Diſſatisfaction among his good Subjects, and thereby left the Crown and Government in a condition too weak for thoſe dangers we have reaſon to fear both at home and abroad. And then declaring his Hopes *that thoſe* evils *may be prevented by a courſe of wiſe and ſteady Counſels for the future, and theſe Kingdoms grow again to make ſuch a figure as they have formerly done in the World, and as they may always doe, if our* UNION *and* CONDUCT *were equal to our Force:* and his Reſolution *to that end to lay aſide the uſe* he had made *of any ſingle Miniſtry or private Adviſers, and to conſtitute ſuch a Privy Council* as for number and choice may be fit, and to govern *by conſtant Advice of ſuch a Council, together with the frequent uſe of his great Council of Parliament*; he adds, *which he takes to be* **the true Ancient Conſtitution of this State and Government.** The Mode was before, and ſoon taken up again, to draw the Orders, matters of greateſt moment being firſt reſolved in a private Cabal, as made by the King *in Council*, inſtead of *by advice of the Council*; and to prefix the Names of all preſent, inſtead of each, who conſented to them, ſubſcribing his own; ſo that none could be charged with what was done but the King himſelf; which was no leſs prejudicial to the King and Kingdom, than contrary to ancient cuſtome and the good Polity of our Anceſtors.

The *other Obſervation* is this: What at firſt, and for ſome time was ordered by the Aſſemblies of Chriſtians, the *Clergy* in proceſs of time aſſumed to themſelves to order alone: and what was then done by the Common Council of the Clergy, the *Biſhops* afterward aſſumed to themſelves alone with their Chancellors. And in ſome Ages after *the Biſhops of Rome* made the like Encroachments upon the Right of all, eſpecially in matters of moſt advantage, as the diſpoſing of Biſhopricks, *&c.* At laſt *Hen.* 8. with us perceiving the injuſtice of the Papal uſurpations, inſtead of reſtoring things to the right and original Inſtitution, ſo far prevailed with his Parliament, as to get all annexed to the Crown. And no doubt this was thought a ſpecial acquiſt, and much for the advantage of the King and his Succeſſors: but it proved like ill-gotten goods, a pernicious morſel. For it ſoon excited the moſt aſpiring of the Clergy to ſeek by Flatteries to obtain their Favour, who had the diſpoſal of the great Preferments of the Church. This ſoon produced falſe Notions concerning the Royal Power; and the intereſt of thoſe who deſigned that Profeſſion made thoſe

Notions

Notions eaſily ſwallowed without much examination; till at laſt the very youth in the Univerſities were levened with them: and being ſo early ſeaſoned therewith, they could not but take deep root in many honeſt and well-meaning perſons. Again, this muſt needs have the like influence upon Kings, who are of themſelves as apt to aſſume as Flatterers are to attribute, whatever tends to the enlargement of their Power. On the other ſide, the greateſt part of the Nation, that is, all who have no temptation to Flattery, well knowing their own Rights, could not be wheadled out of them with miſtaken Names and groundleſs Notions. And from theſe two Roots have ſprung that *combined Faction*, which hath ſo long and often occaſioned the ſhaking this Throne with ſuch violent concuſſions, and will undoubtedly overturn it, if things be not reſtored in time to their right order.

And to prevent ſo great a miſchief, it may be farther ſerviceable to obſerve the difference between this Faction, or the *Factious Church of England* and the *true Church of England*. For as the *Church of Rome* arrogates to it ſelf the Name and Title of Catholick, and excludes all others who are not of that Communion from any right to it, and yet is it ſelf at beſt but a part of that which is indeed the *Catholick Church*; ſo the great Zealots for this Faction, under the Name of the Church of *England*, will hardly deign the Name of Church of *England men*, to any who run not to the ſame exceſs with themſelves; though if the matter be rightly computed, they will not be found ſo great a part of thoſe who do juſtly come under that denomination, much leſs of the People and Strength of this Nation, as they may ſeem to ſome, and would be thought to be. For of thoſe, who are not inferiour to any either in Conformity to the Church, both in Doctrine and Worſhip, and that not out of any ſneaking or crafty compliance, but judgment and choice; or in true Loyalty and Fidelity to the King in his Juſt and Legal Rights; they are as little inferiour in Number or Intereſt, who notwithſtanding, preferring Chriſtianity it ſelf before any particular Church, and a complete genuine Loyalty to the intire State and Conſtitution, before a partial pretended Loyalty to any party in it, do not think themſelves obliged, either by any Duty to the preſent Church, to neglect the great Duties of Chriſtianity, Charity, and reaſonable condeſcenſion in things indifferent; or by my Reverence to Anceſtors, to neglect what is neceſſary at this time, as well for Peace and Unity, as for ſupply and improvement of what they themſelves

ſelves had begun, and declare was not then compleat and perfect: Or laſtly, by any partial Loyalty, or even Oath of Fidelity to the King (which extends but to his juſt Rights, and thoſe too for the benefit of the whole, ſo that he cannot alienate or alter them at his own pleaſure) to deſert the Rights of their Country, and the confeſſed true ancient Conſtitution of the State and Government. And theſe ſolid Principles being grounded upon Truth and Juſtice, wherein another great part of the Nation is equally concerned, muſt needs prevail at laſt againſt the falſe pretences of a violent Faction, which hath no other ſupport but Ambition, Avarice and Animoſity, animated by the Favour or Compliance of a flattered, eaſie, and deceived Prince, though they create no little diſturbance for ſome time, for the enjoyment of their great beloved *Diana*. Beſides, if we conſider the tendency of the Motions of the Divine Providence at this time, it is not likely that our Lord will much longer ſuffer ſuch unprofitable Servants in his Vineyard, but ſpue the *Laodicean* Faction out of his mouth, unleſs they ſpeedily mend their manners But to return,

The Arm of God, that is, his Divine Providence, was not leſs apparent in that Revolution, which reſtored King *Charles* II. than in this, which hath brought this King to the Throne; nor leſs obliging, Nor were the opportunities then leſs than now, which were put into his hands to have made himſelf and theſe Kingdoms happy; but he, inſenſible of that Illuſtrious Providence, and regardleſs of his Word, gave up himſelf to Senſuality, airy Phanſies, and crafty Policies, and moſt ungratefully by an evil example, transfuſed a torrent of all kind of Vice, Fraud, Injuſtice, Profaneneſs, Contempt of Religion, and all manner of impudent Wickedneſs, all over the Nation. And all this deſcended as a charge upon *his Succeſſor*, either to be expunged and diſcharged by ſolemn Humiliation and effectual Reformation, or to be anſwered and born by himſelf in the Meaſure of Puniſhment and Affliction to be laid upon him. But this was a matter which had too much of the Influences and Approbation of his own party, to be checked or reſtrained by him. On the contrary, it was by him aggravated with additions of ſuch violences and bare-fac'd bold illegal attempts, and thoſe for ſo ungrateful an end, the reſtitution of the Romiſh Abominations, as his Brother had either more conſideration, or leſs courage, than ever to venture upon, till the Land caſt him out; thoſe very Perſons, who had baſely betrayed him into thoſe miſchiefs, by pretences of Loyalty, and

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magnifying Prerogative above the Law and the Truth, and by flattering Addreſſes, being many as forward as any to conſpire againſt him, when their own Intereſt was touched, and others to come into the prevailing Party; and will likewiſe betray, whoever they are, who ſhall truſt or rely upon them.

This was *the State, in which the Prince at his Arrival found this Kingdom*: And if this was *the Marvellous Work of God* to bring him hither, we may eaſily perceive from hence what was *the Prince's Work* for which he was brought. Shall we think it was to drive out Popery and Arbitrarineſs, that we might enjoy our Rights, and therewith the greater Liberty to profane a purer Religion, and by impudent violation of it, bring all Religion into contempt? No, no, theſe were but ſuch Acceſſions of the Principal Evil, as made way for the Ejection of that unhappy deluded Prince, as well for neglect of his Duty, in not reſtraining the over-ſpreading Impiety and Wickedneſs of the Nation, as for his own additional tranſgreſſions. And if after all it be not now reformed, it will certainly prove ſuch a Canker and Root of bitterneſs, as will ſoon grow up to produce the like evil fruit again of itſelf, without any ſuch Additionals. For can any one imagine that the Abominations of Debauchery and Impiety can be leſs offenſive to the moſt Holy God, than the Abominations of Popery? Or that the Popiſh Superſtitions, Errours, and Impoſtures, can be more offenſive to him, than impudent and preſumptious violation, and notorious profanation of a purer Religion, and open contempt of all? If not, then the Reformation of thoſe Impieties and Wickedneſs, which have over-ſpread the Nation, but eſpecially the Nobility and Gentry, and moſt of all the Army, which ſoon ſubmitted to him, was a ſpecial and principal part of his Work, which he was conducted, and as it were, led by the hand to do. And therefore plainly without more ſaying, by neglect of this was *the Fault* committed: In this was the *ſtop put* to the courſe of this Work of God: This was *the Good which might have been done*, but was not, and is therefore to be accounted for both to God and Man: This neglect, it being one of the great Sins of the former Kings, was therefore now a *Relapſe* into the ſame: This was a neglect, of *Care to have God ever on our ſide*: And by this was *the Interpoſition raiſed* between the happy influence of Heaven and us: A fault committed againſt a great Duty, after ſo admirable a Divine Conduct to it, and ſo many expreſs and weighty Cautions and Admonitions.

And

And yet this is not all, for the ſame Divine Providence, which ſo ſeaſonably gave him theſe Admonitions by one, as ſeaſonably ſent him *a Specimen of a Declaration againſt Debauchery* by another, with no mean Motives cloſely couched in a ſhort Letter. It was compoſed according to the Prince's Authority, and the State of Affairs as it then was; the expreſſions of Command directed only to the Armies and Soldiery, who were properly ſubject to his Command; what had reſpect to the Civil Magiſtrate, or future Parliament, in expreſſions only of Hope and Expectation. And as much as this might have been done by any General of an Army; but God, with the ſucceſs he had given to him, had given him alſo that authority and reſpect in the minds of all Men, which would have extended the Effect of ſuch a Declaration to thoſe to whom it was not directed; and he would alſo undoubtedly, had the Prince but firſt declared, and then ſhewed his reſolution, by diſtributing his Favours according to Men's Conformity thereunto, have made all as quietly comply therewith, as he made the Army ſubmit to his Power, and have made this ſecond Atchievement no leſs glorious to him than the former, not only for confirmation but augmentation alſo of his Honour and Authority. His very Preſence ſhould have diſperſed the wickedneſs of this Nation; and the Divine Preſence ſhould have continued with him, and have given him Reſt and Happineſs. But here was the Fault; an unhappy, though (I hope) not yet fatal, Fault committed.

The wiſe Governour of the World, whom he calls out to any ſpecial Service, them he uſually, if not always, leads to ſome ſpecial *Tryall of* their *Fidelity*; wherein if they acquit themſelves well, he makes them afterward very happy and proſperous; but if ill, either wholly lays them aſide, or leaves them to great difficulties, till they recover themſelves by Repentance, and ſome very generous Act of Fidelity. This Declaration was preſented to him the ſame day in the Morning, on which the Lords in the Afternoon preſented him with an Addreſs to accept of the Adminiſtration till a free Parliament could be aſſembled. That both theſe Propoſals were preſented to him on the ſame day, was not without the diſpoſal of the Divine Providence. The one was for the Honour and Service of God, the other in appearance for his own Honour; and both made up a plain compleat *Tryall*. And the latter he accepted, but the former hath been neglected to this day. The *cauſe* of ſuch neglect is principally either the Faſcination of *Proſperity*, which diſpoſeth Men to forget God, or the Deceitfulneſs of *Worldly Wiſ-*

dom, which betrays them to forſake him, and apply themſelves to ordinary ſenſible means to ſecure what they do in fact prefer before him. When theſe two meet, they make a ſtrong *Temptation*; but againſt both he had the freſh experience of the Favour of God, and of the irreſiſtible Power of the Divine Providence over him, and making all things eaſie and plain before him; and this made the Fault the greater and more inexcuſable.

Nor is this ſo ſmall and inconſiderable a matter as ſenſual Men may be apt to think it, which poſſibly may be the better perceived if we take notice more diſtinctly of the ſeveral *particular Ingredients* comprehended in it, and how aptly certain *like particulars*, of which the unhappineſs of this Change is compoſed, do correſpond to them. And *firſt*, If we conſider it as a *Neglect* of Duty, and *Deſertion*, for the preſent, of a principal part of the Work, to which he was led in ſo extraordinary a manner by the propitious Providence of God, Is it not as plain that that propitious Providence, which before made his Progreſs ſo exceeding ſmooth, eaſie, and ſucceſsfull, hath in like manner ſince either deſerted, or ſo neglected his affairs, that all have either gone back, ſtood ſtill, or proceeded very ſlowly? *Secondly*, As this Neglect was alſo a matter of *Unfaithfulneſs* in his Lord's Service, in which he was as a ſpecial Inſtrument, employed and entruſted; ſo never was Unfaithfulneſs more notorious, than in the occurrences of this laſt year, in ſuch as were employed and intruſted under him, as is commonly believed, and ſhall be diſcovered in its cauſes hereafter. *Thirdly*, It was a neglect of his *Honour*, who had conferred, by ſo extraordinary ſucceſs, ſo much Honour and Reputation upon him; and ſuch change of ſucceſs is uſually attended with proportionable diminution of Honour and Reputation. *Laſtly*, Here was (the Root of all,) a *Deſertion of Dependence and Truſt*, in that potent Providence which had favoured him hitherto in ſo extraordinary a manner, and recourſe to deceitfull *Worldly Wiſdom*. It was the Unhappineſs of King *James* I. that after an admirable Deliverance from an horrid Popiſh Conſpiracy, ready for execution, he applied himſelf firſt to connivance, and at laſt to aſſociation with Papiſts for his ſecurity; which, contrary to his expectation, proved the original of all the miſchiefs which have ſince befallen his Family: So likewiſe this Prince, after as great an experience of the Divine Providence over him, leſt the Kingdom ſhould return to King *James*, thought to deal wiſely with them, and (after *Huſhai*'s advice) defer this great Work, firſt till the Kingdom ſhould be ſettled, and then when he was proclaimed King, till *Ireland* ſhould be

be reduced, and he ſhould have a ſufficient Power (an Arm of Fleſh) to doe it effectually, and in the mean time try what effect a good example and kindneſs, intruſting them with Offices and Employments in State, Army, and Navy, would have upon ſuch vitious people in the end, which in like manner, contrary to his expectation, hath proved the original of all the Impediments and Diſappointments in his affairs. *O that my people had hearkened unto me, and* Iſrael *had walked in my ways! I ſhould ſoon have ſubdued their Enemies, and turned my hand againſt their Adverſaries. The Haters of the Lord* (the Profane and Debauched) *ſhould have ſubmitted themſelves unto him: but their time ſhould have endured for ever.* Pſ. 81. 13. *Now would the Lord have eſtabliſhed thy Kingdom upon* Iſrael *for ever.* 1 Sam. 13. 13.

This was *the Root of the Miſcarriage: Haſt thou not procured this unto thy ſelf, in that thou haſt forſaken the Lord thy God, when he led thee by the way?* Jer. 2. 17. From hence hath plainly proceeded this great change of the former proſperous courſe of Affairs into ſo diſturbed, impedited, and unſucceſsfull, even by a natural Chain of Cauſes after the firſt breach, but thoſe moved and promoted (by the Divine Permiſſion,) by other inviſible Powers than thoſe which gave that great ſucceſs before. The preſence of ſo favourable a Providence, ought to have been anſwered with a proportionable Magnanimity, Reſolution, and Conſtancy, in dependence upon that Divine Power; but in ſuch a caſe to ſtoop to compliance to thoſe who ought to have been awed and ſubdued, is diſhonourable, and a great offence to thoſe Divine Powers: And if thoſe be once provok'd to withdraw, a man ſinks preſently under the Power of them, who otherwiſe ſhould have been ſubject to him. And by this Fault without doubt, and his acceptance of their State, did this Prince *enter into the Fate of his Anceſtours* of this Nation, and will be daily more and more involved therein, until it either prove fatal to him, or he by Repentance, and ſome magnanimous and reſolute change of his courſe and methods, extricate himſelf.

And it is very obſervable that he not only fell by *the ſame Sin*, but fell into *the very ſame Faction*, which for the four laſt Reigns ſucceſſively, have by their Flatteries of Princes for their private advantage, and provocations of the People, by Tricks, illegal Projects and Practices, brought all thoſe miſchiefs which we have ſeen and felt upon both: Whereas both civil Prudence, and Duty to God, *i. e.* Fidelity to the conduct of his Providence, required that he ſhould have maintained the Reputation and Authority he was

raiſed to, made himſelf Umpire of all Parties, reſtrained the Exceſſes, and diſcouraged the Inſolences of each, and with a mixture of Authority and equal Kindneſs to all, reduced them as near as might be to an Union, or at leaſt to a mutual agreement in matters of common concern. But by the courſe of Affairs, he ſeems to have been rather paſſive than active in the management thereof; and what Counſels prevailed therein may by the ſame alſo be perceived.

Nor was it only into the ſame Faction that he fell, but into the hands *of thoſe very Perſons*, who in the Reign of King *Charles* II. (for under King *James* they were overtopp'd by others,) were the principal Adviſers and Managers in thoſe illegal Projects, and now being conſcious of their own Guilt and Deſert, have by themſelves and their tools not only hitherto obſtructed Juſtice upon the betrayers of their King and Countrey, to the great diſparagement of the preſent Settlement, but animated ſuch a mungrel Party, and therewith filled many Offices of the Revenue, Army, and Navy, as are real and hearty neither to this nor the former King, but intending only their own ſafety or advantage, are diſpoſed to act, as in a doubtfull caſe, ſo as may beſt ſerve their turn, whichever prevail. And from this ſort of people have proceeded moſt of the Rubs and Difficulties in our Proceedings; and among ſuch, it could not be hard for ſome of the Agents of King *James* to creep in.

But as when Men do not cloſely and fully follow the Divine Conduct, if they be but a little deſerted by it, and left to themſelves, they are immediately expoſed to various miſcarriages; ſo there was *another miſcarriage of his Anceſtours* into which he likewiſe fell, if what is commonly affirmed and believed is true, which proved a great inlet unto all ſorts, and the very worſt of Men, into Offices and Employments, and that was permitting the *Sale of Offices and Places*; or granting them at the ſolicitation of ſuch as did it for money; and which is worſe yet, ſuch as were ſtrangers, and utterly unacquainted with Perſons and their Qualities. This could not but expoſe very conſiderable Places to the Agents, not only of King *James*, but of the *French* King, to be purchaſed with his money, (which of late is become more common here than ever,) no doubt but for his own advantage. He is believed to have been a good Chapman to thoſe who were before in places to doe him but ſome particular ſervice; and therefore to get in ſuch as were intirely at his ſervice, he would undoubtedly be much more liberal; but eſpecially under ſuch a juncture of affairs, when the purchaſe

of

of our diverſion in *Ireland* but for this laſt Summer, was worth, for ought I know, as much as half this Kingdom.

Now from ſuch people as by theſe means might be, and undoubtedly were, let into places of great importance, what can be expected leſs than all *Unfaithfulneſs* and *Treachery* imaginable; and what leſs from that, than ſuch Succeſs and *Diſappointments* as we have met with? And what is a more natural product of that, eſpecially when it proceeds either immediately, or originally from a Man's own overſight or miſcarriage, than Diſhonour and Contempt; or a juſter provocation of the Divine Majeſty to cauſe or permit it to befall them, than their neglect of his Honour and Service? *He poureth Contempt upon Princes, and weakeneth the ſtrength of the Mighty*, Job. 12. 21. Pſal. 107. 40. *They that honour me, I will honour, but they that deſpiſe me ſhall be lightly eſteemed*; 1 Sam. 2. 30. So eaſily can the moſt Wiſe and Powerfull God, when he pleaſeth, cauſe a juſt puniſhment in all circumſtances of Mens miſcarriages to proceed even naturally from ſome ſmall inſenſible beginning in their own actions. *Thine own wickedneſs ſhall correct thee, and thy backſlidings ſhall reprove thee: Know therefore and ſee*, &c. *Jer.* 2. 19.

And yet to give ſome gentle admonitions, that there was more than meerly natural in it, he was pleaſed to intermix ſome occurrences of a *diſtinguiſhing Providence*: Such was that brave, undaunted, and admirably ſucceſsfull Reſiſtence of all the Aſſaults of King *James* his force in a cloſe Siege, for near Twelve Weeks together, by thoſe poor, unexperienced, and undiſciplined, but ſober and ſerious people of *London-Derry*: Such the magnanimous and ſucceſsfull Attacks of the *Iriſh* Forces by thoſe of *Inniskilling*. Whereas the Famous General *Schomberg*, with all his diſciplin'd Forces of the old Army, and his experienc'd and lately ſucceſsfull Forreign Forces, had not the power to hurt or attack the *Iriſh* Army, which lay encamped ſo long together almoſt by his ſide: And ſuch was that in *Scotland*, when one ſingle new-rais'd Regiment bore the brunt, and defeated the ſame Force which before had beaten the General there, with ſeveral Regiments of the old Army.

And it is very obſervable to this purpoſe, *how little ſerviceable* either to King *James* in *England*, or to King *William* in *Ireland*; thoſe poor Creatures of *that diſſolute Army have been*, whoſe provoking ſins by a generous mixture of Authority, and Encouragement to reform, might have been reſtrained at firſt, and in a great meaſure cured, to the Honour of God, and greater Service in this

Cauſe?

Cauſe? But on the contrary, many of them there languiſhing in their Iniquities, and Corporal ſickneſs together, have only helped to conſume our Proviſions, and are daily conſumed by Death, and ſwallowed up of the Earth; the Mercifull God being conſtrained to purge the Land by degrees by his ſeverer Methods, while inconſiderate Men neglect to be the Inſtruments of his milder. A pitifull and deplorable Caſe indeed; which I cannot think on without ſad Reflexions upon him to whom this matter was ſo early recommended, with no inconſiderable, though very plain admonitions relating to his Station.

And I do the rather take notice of this here, becauſe this *Perſon* was, of all Men, *next to the Prince himſelf, concerned* in this matter, in regard as well of the Circumſtances he then was in, as of that ſpecial Recommendation of a matter of ſo great a conſequence to his care. Whoever was the Perſon by whom it was recommended, it was undoubtedly by the ſecret direction of the ſame Providence which directed his Admonitions, and no leſs obliged him, than thoſe did them to whom they were delivered. If he did faithfully diſcharge the Duty of his Circumſtances as he ought, he hath the leſs to anſwer for: But then that is an unhappy Ingredient in this caſe. But if he did not, but inſtead of the perſonal, plain, and powerfull Admonitions and Perſuaſions of a judicious and faithfull Divine, he took up with the prudential Conſiderations of a Statesman or Politician; and inſtead of imminding the Prince of his great Duty of attendence, to the Conduct of that powerfull Providence which attended him, and of exciting him of a maghanimous proſecution of that glorious work to which it led him; he prudentially miſled him to ſtop at the Bait when lay in his way, and *daubing*, even ſtoop'd to raiſe ſuch as oppos'd him, and by compliance, animate a mungrel Party; he diſabled the Prince by lowering his Authourity, hath unhappily retarded, if not defeated a principal part of his Glorious Work, which God hath laid before us, and muſt be *accountable both to God and Man, for all the good he might have done, and did not*, and for all the Evil which hath followed upon this neglect; and the more, becauſe contrary to his own Admonitions.

True Divinity is much different from the Notional Syſtematical and Polemick, in which a man may be very ready, and have beſides a great furniture of other Reading, Oratory, and all kind of Polite Learning, as they call it, enough to make him look big, and be admired in the World, and yet be very unskilfull in the other.

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It is a Divine Wiſdom, a quick underſtanding in the fear of the Lord, not to be learned in Schools, but taught of God, a Divine Ray caſt into, and kindly received in a well purified Soul; which gives it a clear diſtinct Sight, and true eſtimate of the different value and worth of things; an Abhorrence of what is really Evil, a Contempt of what is ſplendid and gaudy, but empty and vain, the Pomps and Vanities of the World; and a juſt Eſteem of all that is really Good, according to their different degrees: Of God above all, and therefore with a great care and concern for his Honour and Service; of the bleſſed Creatures above us, that they may be gratified, and not grieved or offended; and of the Souls of Men, that they may be reſcued from Perdition; but of the Temporal Concerns of Men, as they are ſubſervient to this: Directs it to act as a Child of Light, diſcerning what is acceptable to the Lord, and what is diſpleaſing to him. It is not to be *attained* by Men, whoſe affections are intangled in the things of the World, nor conſtantly enjoyed by ſuch as are immerſed in the buſineſs of it: And yet without it, no man, let his natural Parts, his acquired Accompliſhments, his Degree in Holy Orders, and his Preferments in the Church be what they will, can be a *true Divine*; but is in truth ſo much the greater Impoſtor, appearing in Habit and external Form what he really is not; a carnal ſenſual, or animal man at the beſt, not having the good Spirit, but in many things obnoxious to the Impreſſions and Deceits of the ſubtile Evil one; and therefore moſt dangerous to Princes and Perſons concerned in the great Affairs of the World, to be relied on. But this I intend only for a general Caution, not to reflect upon any particular Perſon, much leſs upon him before mentioned: For I do not know how he may have behaved himſelf.

But of *thoſe about the King*, they who have been acceſſary to this Summer's ill ſucceſs, eſpecially by evil Councils, or Recommendations of evil Men, may be beſt known to himſelf. It is true, at his firſt coming he was under a great diſadvantage, that he had not ſo full knowledge of Perſons as was neceſſary for the State of his Affairs; but ſuch hath been the buſineſs, which ſince hath been in agitation, as cannot but have given him a competent Experimental Knowledge of thoſe who have been concerned in the moſt important parts thereof. If he do but conſider the Succeſs of his Affairs, and then recollect by whom, and whoſe Counſel or Recommendation they were managed, he may in a good meaſure perceive the Diſpoſition of the perſons, and what they deſigned or aimed at.

Of

Of the *Parliament* I have already mentioned ſome things with reſpect to the unſucceſsfull and retarded courſe of our Proceedings: We are now enquiring into the Original and firſt cauſe of this great Change, which is not to be imputed to the King only: The Parliament alſo have been Principals in it, and that by great and notorious defects of Religion, Gratitude and Piety towards God; and of Juſtice, Charity, Providence, and Unanimity, and Courage for their Country. They are the Repreſentative Body of the Nation: To them it belonged to have well-conſidered the admirable Mercy and Favour of God in our late Deliverance, and to have made return of real Gratitude, and not put off that with a ſuperficial Formality; to have well conſidered the defiled and ſinfull State of the Nation, as well as the State of its Affairs, and to have endeavoured the Recovery of the Favour and Bleſſing of God upon thoſe, by an effectual Purgation and Reformation of that; and to have begun with ſome good Orders for correction of the Profaneneſs and diſſolute Manners of their own Members; which had been an Act of Charity and Providence for the good of their Country and of themſelves, as well as of Religion and Gratitude to God. For his Bleſſing is not to be expected upon their Conſultations now, till the Impieties and Wickedneſs of their own Members be reformed or removed. And to them it belonged alſo to have made ſome Examples by Juſtice upon the Betrayers of the Rights of their Countrey, as well to aſſert the Juſtice of their own Proceedings againſt the late King, as to prevent encouragement to the like Practices for the future by their Connivance. And to them it belonged to have made a timely Enquiry into the Miſmanagement of Affairs, whether by Miniſters, Counſellors, Officers, or by the King himſelf; and to have plainly, that is, faithfully repreſented the ſame to the King, and deſired redreſs of what had been done amiſs by himſelf, and proceeded againſt the reſt according to their deſert. This was their Duty, this had been like a true *Engliſh* Parliament: And this doing we might have expected God's Bleſſing; for he favours not the Wicked, nor Fools, who mind not their own Buſineſs. But ſuch a Puſillanimity and Baſeneſs has poſſeſſed our Parliaments of late, ſince the diſſolute Manners were ſo encouraged by *Ch.* II. that they have been more apt to complement away the Rights of their Country, to gratifie the Humour of the King, and the Safety and Honour of the King himſelf, to pleaſe his Minions and Favourites, than doe any honeſt, faithfull and generous Act for the preſervation and real benefit of either.

Before

Before I quite leave the Parliament it may be fit to remember the *Bishops*, who make a part thereof, and in this case deserve a special Consideration. They are the Chief Governours of this Church: To them it belongs by their Office to take care of the Manners of the People, to be concerned at great, common and notorious National Sins, to admonish and importune the Civil Magistrate; and being moreover Members of Parliament, to propose and promote good Laws, for the Correction and Reformation thereof. And all matters of Religion do so peculiarly belong to their Care, that the Neglects before mentioned in the King and in the Parliament, are with no less Reason, but rather more especially chargeable upon them. And it is an ill sign of the great prevalence of Impiety and Wickedness in the State or Parliament it self, if they durst not, or of *Laodicean* Coldness and insensibility in themselves, if they would not; for certain it is, they did not doe in their station in the House, what so singular a Mercy of God, the so sinfull State of the Nation, this late great Change we have suffered in the course of our Affairs, and the present cloudy Face of things do so plainly require. Such a Neglect at such a time as this, may justly move us to reflect upon former times, and the many and great Advantages, Opportunities, Occasions and Provocations they have long had to doe good both at home and abroad; and considering notwithstanding how little hath been done, to suspect that *Constantine's* Poison hath some Lethargick, or Narcotick Virtue in it to benumb the Nerves, and stupifie the Spirits and Life of Zeal and Devotion in such as taste but a little too deep of it. And of this, to what is already mentioned, I will add Two *fresh Instances* of my own knowledge: The one of *a great Clergy-man*, who having well provided for himself in the World before elsewhere, and besides gotten good Preferment here, could yet permit, though admonish'd of it, the Propagation of Religion among his own Countreymen to go a begging here for so small a Relief and Assistance as he himself might very well have supplied: The other of *some Dignified Persons* of considerable Note in the Church, who when a well affected Lay-man, out of pity to Forty or Fifty Thousand Souls, had considered and proposed to have the Care of so great a Parish committed to some man of a Primitive Christian Disposition, who contenting himself with a reasonable share of the Profits, would have distributed the rest among as many young Curates as it would maintain, whereby both the needs of the people might have been better supplied, and those Persons by their mutual advices and assi-

stance in such a Work, the better fitted and prepared for the Cure of Souls in Parishes of their own, yet were pleased to interpose for the Presentation, and so far as to obtain it at least from another Competitor in no commendable manner, for one who had at that time a good Parsonage, a good Lecture, and a good Prebend, as a Preferment for him.

Such *Scuffling for Preferment in the Church* is a great Scandal to many ingenious Lay-Spectators, to suspect the sincerity of those who take upon them to be Preachers of the Gospel, and yet discover so little of the Power and Effects thereof in their own Actions. And this cannot but greatly obstruct the good effect of all their Preaching upon such. It is also a great Temptation to one of the greatest and most common immediate causes of most of our Mischiefs, both publick and Private, Over-valuation and Greediness of the Superfluities of the things of this World, which all their Preaching can never cure, while it is daily confirmed and heightned, by such Examples. And from the same root doth proceed all that Pharisaical Zeal for the Church, and Jealousie and Dread of the least alteration, though never so reasonable and necessary, in many, who shew little sense of Religion in any thing else, which hath long disturbed both Church and State, and doth at this time expose both to danger. These things being observed, together with so great coldness in the weighty matters of the Law, I cannot but cool the affections of their best Friends to them, and averr the favour both of God and Man from them. This therefore we may reasonably look upon as one of the Original and Provoking Causes of this Stop and Change of the late Happy course of Affairs. *Thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with Goods, and have need of nothing, and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind. Be zealous therefore and repent.*

Concerning our Judges, and Chief Magistrates, I have little to say: Our Courts of Justice are so well filled with such Persons, as the Profession of the Law doth not afford better than most of them are; only few of those who are in, were more worthily preferred, than one, whom I need not name, was unworthily left out. His personal Worth doth well qualifie him for that Service; and his singular merits in his generous appearing for the service of his Country, in occasions of greatest difficulty, did well justify them: And however it came to pass, certainly no Man of Vertue and Ingenuity would ever oppose it.

But because Corruption and Abuses in great Places, besides other mischiefs, are of pernicious consequence by their Example, I think fit to take notice of one which deserves Correction, because it not only concerns divers great Lords, but is obstinately persisted in, contrary to the Opinion and Advice of Mr. *Attorney* himself. And if the Lords will pass by such an abuse to themselves, I know not what people of inferiour Quality may expect in time. It is the needless and illegal Charge they are put to, before they can be inserted into the Commission of the Peace of any County for *Custos Rotulorum*. I need but name it.

As to the *Army and Navy*, the Seamen are generally honest, and true to their Country and the Protestant Religion, and many among them sober and serious people; but a great part of their Officers, and the Land Army, who were nearer the influence of the Evil Examples at the Court, are generally so dissolute and debauched, that it is not to be believed that God will ever be with them, or prosper them, but rather waste and consume them, till he has wholly purged the Land of them; and therefore so unhappy a Company of people amongst us, must needs make us unprosperous and unsuccessfull, till they be either destroyed or reformed.

Concerning *the Body of the People of England*, though the unhappy effects of the pernicious Examples at Court have reach'd all Ranks and Degrees amongst us, yet have they been most prevalent upon such as were nearer in degree or converse to it; so that the lower Ranks of men, which are most numerous, and the strength of the Nation, though not wholly escaped, have yet been least corrupted by them; and were but the Examples of Vertue in our great men now, but any way proportionable to what shining Examples of Vice have been for so long past, I do not doubt but they would soon appear again as considerable as heretofore they have done. So that there is little to be noted in them, but what is derived from those above them, and is plainly to be imputed, not more to their neglect of good Examples, good Laws, and good Execution, than to the energy of their wicked, profane, and impious Examples. And these being besides only Passive, and concerned only in the Success, not in the Management of the Affairs, are not so much to be considered in the case. Nor shall I say any thing of our Confederates beyond Sea. And therefore to draw up the conclusion:

The

The CONCLUSION.

As almost all the Wickedness of the former Reigns proceeded originally from those Kings, and Judgment hath been begun first to be executed upon them; so hath likewise the Fault, whereby that great Work, whereof this King was called out to be the Glorious Instrument in these Nations, hath been hitherto interrupted, plainly proceeded from himself: For by Neglect, through prudential Connivance, of the Duty to which he was led, and through politick compliance, of the Authority to which he was raised, by so manifest a Divine Conduct, he did not so much engage to himself, as animate against his Interest, that party which first opposed his ascent to the Throne, and afterward by pernicious Counsels, and under-hand Dealings, as is believed, imposed upon him, disappointed his Proceedings, weakened his Reputation, and intangled him in their Snares; which yet, had he steadily followed the Divine Conduct, must have stooped, and quietly submitted to him.

And now if we look forward, there are but *two ways* before him, one plain and direct, the other devious, dangerous, full of precipices and certain mischiefs; *Via Lucis*, & *Via Tenebrarum*; the Right Way, which he left, and this which he hath unhappily chosen, wherein if he proceeds, he is like to fall into one of these *Inconveniences*: Either to be dangerously undermined by K. *James* his Party, of which are many of the Faction before mentioned, though they have sworn Fidelity to him; or else to be irrecoverably engaged with the old Instruments of Arbitrariness, who considering how ill they have deserved of their Country, can think of no better expedient to cover their own former illegal Projects, than drawing the present King into a participation with themselves in the like.

The *natural tendency* of this Way to those ends, is very apparent upon a humane consideration; and if we consider it with respect to the *Divine Providence*, as we have great reason to expect upon the considerations before mentioned, some Divine Judgment upon it, so none can be more agreeable to the Divine Methods in such a case, than one of those I have now mentioned, that is, either to give him up to those *Rehoboam* Counsels, which have been so pernicious to his Predecessors in this Throne; or to permit things to be brought to an *equilibrium* between the two Princes and by the one way, or other, put an end to that Family and Government, which, notwithstanding all the Methods, which have been used to reduce them to a sense of their Duty, do still continue so unprofitable to his Service, as some of them have before been

been Obſtacles and pernicious Adverſaries to it, which yet ſtands undiſcharged upon account againſt their Succeſſours.

But I hope and doubt not but *the other direct and ſafe way* is ſtill open for him to return unto, only being now ſomewhat more difficult, it will require, and deſervedly, ſo much the greater Reſolution. And this I take to be the way: Firſt, to be careſull to uſe all approv'd means for the *Recovery of the Divine Favour*; and then to apply to the uſe of ſuch *Humane Means*, as true Wiſdom and ſolid Policy direct and require. But it muſt be in this Order, or elſe he will never recover the like proſperous ſucceſs; but whatever alterations in Miniſters or Politicks he ſhall make without that, will either prove unſucceſsfull, or prove ſo to him, he ſhall have but little enjoyment of it.

For the *Recovery of the Divine Favour* in this caſe it will be abſolutely neceſſary,

1. To ſettle, by good conſideration of the many expreſs Declarations and parallel Examples in the ſacred Scripture, a *right and firm Judgment*; 1. That whatever were the immediate apparent Cauſes of the former happy ſucceſs, and of the ill ſucceſs ſince, yet that the principal hegemonical Cauſe in both was from God. 2. That the Provoking Cauſe of this great change muſt have been no ſmall ſin. 3. That there can be no hope of recovery of the Divine Favour, and former proſperous condition, but by effectual removal of that Sin, whatever it be. 4. That of all the Sins which have been noted for the greateſt Provocations of the like Judgments heretofore, there are none ſo likely to have had ſuch unhappy effect in this caſe as that which is ſo often expreſſed in ſacred Scripture by the Phraſe of the *Heart* being *lifted up*, with its conſequence of forgetting God. As in thoſe great Cautions, *Deut.* 8. 14. and 17. 10. and in thoſe remarkable examples, even of *Hezechiah*, 2 *Chr.* 32. 25. that *he rendred not again* to the Lord *according to the Benefit done unto him: for his Heart was lifted up*; *therefore there was Wrath upon him, and upon* Judah *and* Jeruſalem: And of *Uzziah*, 2 *Chr.* 26. 16. *When he was ſtrong, his heart was lifted up to his deſtruction*, and Deſertion, or Neglect of the ſpecial Work wherein one is employed; of which *Saul* is a remarkable Example. Laſtly, That there can be no removal of theſe Sins without great Humiliation upon contemplation of the Ingratitude, and dangerous conſequence thereof, and a reſolute return to the deſerted or neglected Duty; and therefore,

2. To ſet reſolvedly to the Work of an *Effectual Reformation* of this People, whom God hath ſubjected to him, and committed to his

his Charge, to be delivered from the ſlavery of their Sins to Satan by impudent Sins, as well as of their Perſons and Eſtates to Tyrants by Uſurpation; which may by the ſame Divine Favour, which will not then be wanting to his own Work, be eaſily effected. 1. By a plain *Declaration* of his Reſolution, commanding a ſtrict execution of the Laws in force for that purpoſe; which is one great part of the Regal Office. 2. By a ſteady uſe of his own *immediate Authority*, excluding and rejecting from his Councils, Service, and Preſence, all ſuch as obſtinately refuſe Obedience and Conformity to ſo juſt, reaſonable, and neceſſary Commands and Reſolutions. And this muſt be done, not ſuperficially, but with great Reſolution and Conſtancy, and the greater by reaſon of the Failure before committed, even to the hazard of his Kingdom (if there was occaſion) for his ſake who hath raiſed him to the Throne, and can when he pleaſeth as ſoon remove him from it, and lay him and his Honour in the Duſt. Such a Reſolution once declar'd will half doe the Work: But it muſt be ſteadily purſued, and impartially, without indulgence to any; for that would be to prefer a Creature before the Creator, and would prove very pernicious. Beſides, ſuch Fools and Mad-men as are profane, or glory in their ſhame, and ſuch impotent Bruits as have not the command of themſelves to abſtain from ſcandalous Sins, are not fit to be admitted into the Service or Favour of a vertuous and generous Prince. 3. By *paſſing* and even *recommending* ſuch other *good Laws* as are neceſſary for ſupply of the Defects of thoſe we have already. This is the way to recover God's Bleſſing; and this will ſtrengthen him with the Hearts and Hands of the beſt and moſt conſiderable part of the Nation. And this being done, he may with confidence, and without delay, proceed to,

2. The Proper *Humane Means*; and 1. Such as are, and always will be neceſſary *to ſtrengthen his Kingdom at home* in the Hearts of the People; which is to be done by good Government, and avoiding thoſe known inconveniences into which his late Predeceſſours of this Age ſo unhappily fell. But more particularly, 1. By *Juſtice*, (a great part of that Righteouſneſs by which the Throne is eſtabliſhed,) both to the Community, and to each Individual, without Uſurpation, Encroachments, or Oppreſſion, either by himſelf, or his Favourites, or Officers. 2. By *Faithfulneſs in the Diſcharge of the Regal Office*, directing all his Counſels and Actions for the common Intereſt of the Nation, as his End, and according to the true Conſtitution of the State and Government, as his Rule. This is plainly his Duty, and that for which, and with which, he

is intrusted as King, as is very apparent in all the parts of the Constitution, let Sycophants and Flatterers say what they can to the contrary. And to this purpose *three great Faults of the late Reigns* are constantly to be avoided: 1. The Use of any *single Ministery* of Favourites, or *private Advisers* in Cabals; so that nothing be done but by advise of a legal well-chosen *Privy Council*, and under the Hands of those who advise it. 2. As well the long *Continuance*, as long *Intermission* of *Parliaments*, which are both equally inconsistent with the Statutes in force for Annual Parliaments, and of equally pernicious consequence. 3. The *Corruption of Members of Parliament* by Pensions, Places, and Promises; which is such a Breach of Trust on both sides, as is odious both to God and Man, and equal to what in private matter is commonly reputed the basest Knavery that can be.

3. By *Prudence and Industry* in ordering all, as to this End, and by this Rule, so for the best Advantage upon all occasions; As, 1. In the choice of fit Persons for Employments. 2. In Inspection into their Behaviour. 3. In provident Management of the Revenue and Contribution, that no unnecessary charge be laid upon the People. 4. In Conferring of Honours, wherein great Faults have been committed in the late Reigns, and in many other particulars not necessary here to be expressed.

By these means he may make both himself and these Kingdoms happy. For it is certain, unless I have been long in a great mistake, that both the true Constitution of this State and Government is as well composed, both for Prince and People, as any in the World; and the People as well disposed to be happily and easily governed by it, as any upon the face of the Earth by any Government whatever. But it was the unhappiness of the last Race of Kings to be imposed upon by Flatterers, that they never well understood either; or were carried away contrary to their own sense or reason, as they plainly were in many things.

2. But besides these things which are of constant use to be observed at all times, there may be some *things now specially requisite*, or advisable for the present State of Affairs: And such among others, I humbly conceive may be,

1. A fair *Dismission* for the present, till things be better settled, both from the Privy Council, and from the Management of Affairs relating to *Ireland*, *of all such Persons*, as either he himself hath known to be unhappy in their Counsels to himself, or are commonly believed by others to have been concerned in any illegal Practices

ces, or Projects in the late Reigns, or have incurred the ill Opinion of the present Parliament; and to make choice of such understanding Men of unspotted Integrity, though of inferiour quality, as are least suspected of Partiality to any Faction.

2. A *Dissolution of the present Parliament*, and new Writs to be speedily sent out to summon another to sit at as short a day as may be, to confirm the Acts of this, and to put an end to all doubts concerning the Authority of it.

3. *Execution of Justice* upon the Disturbers of the present Settlement.

4. A Review of those Counsels and Proceedings which have given such disturbance in *Scotland*, and a speedy Restitution of matters there, to the true Constitution of that Kingdom.

5. A just Inspection into the *Accounts* of all the Money before given, and a good *Management* of the Remainder of that, and of this lately given, for speedy *Preparation* for the next Spring, to recover, if possible, the Reputation and Advantages lost the last Summer.

The Life of Man is short and incertain; of Kings more incertain, but of this King, by reason of his corporal Infirmity, most of all. He hath therefore cause to be the more provident in the Management of the Opportunities and great Talents, with which he is intrusted both by God and Man; and of which he must shortly give account, so as that he may doe it with Joy, and not with Grief. Every wise Man will make it his chief care to direct all his Actions to the attainment of his greatest personal Perfection, and of his enjoyment of the most excellent Being. The same ought to be the care of those who have any Power over others, to help them as much as may be to doe the like. And this is more especially the part of a wise and good King, and the ready way to make himself and the People under him happy here as well as hereafter. It will make him King of Men, of more than Men, that is, Christians; not of Bruits and Devils; and of a whole Nation, not only of a Party or Factions: And for this no Labour ought to be spared, no Difficulties or Dangers feared; otherwise King *James* will rise in Judgment and condemn him.

THE END.

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